The IDLER

Public Occurrences, Comment, Excursions & Rational Entertainment

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TV VIOLENCE ISN'T ALL FUN

BEING AN INQUIRY INTO THE TRIALS AND TRIBULATIONS FACED BY THE NETWORKS AS THEY PROVIDE US WITH FAMILY FARE

Other Domestic Matters

One of the things that impressed us about the interim report on television and juvenile delinquency published recently by Senator Dodd's subcommittee was the amount of dedicated thought and preparation that goes into saturating the air with video mayhem. Producing and writing violence shows isn't all fun.

The famous program *The Untouchables* is a case in point. Broadcast on ABC, this show was produced by Desilu Studios under orders from the network to inject an "adequate" diet of violence. The subcommittee report notes: "Individual producers who failed to comply with the network recipe for violence, have, upon occasion, been fired."

This recipe can be gauged by the following script summary of a show called *Syndicate Sanctuary:*

"Action: Judge is deliberately run down by a gangster and killed at the opening of the script. A G-man is trapped and tortured. Gangsters are trapped in an abandoned mine as they are about to kill a witness to a murder. Mine finally caves in on them as another gangster fires at one of the G-men who surrounded the thugs. There's a chase through the streets and the final scene as the 'untouchables' storm the jail."

This program would appear to have met the network's demand for "action." Others were not so successful. A comment in one ABC script summary contains the comment:

"Not as much action as some, but sufficient to keep the average bloodthirsty viewer fairly happy."

More damning was ABC official Quinn Martin's review of several other episodes:

"We have been advised that two of the recent episodes of *The Untouchables, Mexican Stake-out,* and *Ain't We Got Fun,* lacked some of the dynamic excitement of the earlier episodes. Our program people who evaluate the scripts advise us that there is a tendency of the recent episodes to become 'talky' and as a result, much of the action and suspense is lost. I hope that you will give careful attention to maintaining this action and suspense in future episodes. As you know, there has been a softening in the ratings, which may or may not be the result of this talkiness, but certainly we should watch it carefully."

Norman Retchin, the producer of the *Ain't We Got Fun* episode, was subsequently discharged after he declined to add violence to the script.

The departure of Retchin did not end Quinn Martin's trouble with writers and producers, however, for not long after he wrote a note concerning another *Untouchables* script:

". . . . on page 31, I wish we could come up with a different device than running the man down with a car, as we have done this now in three different shows. I like the idea of sadism,

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The Idler

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but I hope we can come up with another approach to it."

Prudish advertising agency executives appear to have occasionally questioned the wisdom of some of the *Untouchables* "action." The McKann-Erickson people, for example, objected to a scene in an episode called *The White Slavers* in which a group of Mexican girls being imported to Chicago for use as prostitutes are machine gunned by gangsters when it is found that they cannot get them across the border. Martin wrote the following note concerning the episode:

"Page 40, This scene is the roughest I have ever seen and I don't know if we can get away with it, but let's leave it in. Have a feeling you may have to kill the girls off camera."

Over at CBS, the only network to reduce significantly the amount of violence shown during the past few years, the men behind the action shows faced problems similar to those of their ABC brethren. An excerpt from the subcommittee report describes CBS network president James Aubrey's valiant and ultimately successful efforts to, in the broadcaster's favorite phrase, "give the public what it wants." The show in question was *Route 66:*

"The evolution of *Route 66* is particularly relevant both because of its focus on violence and sex and because of the network's role in developing that focus. Shortly after the series' inception, network officials became concerned because it was not 'pulling' as effectively as it should. Mr. James T. Aubrey, Jr., CBS network president, is reported to have issued what became known among producers as the Aubrey dictum of 'broads, bosoms and fun.' In testimony before the Subcommittee in 1962, Mr. Aubrey admits to asking for more 'glamor' and 'romantic interest' but denies authorship of the dictum in the specific sense.

"Yet memorandums prepared by people concerned with the show's production refer to the 'broads, bosoms, and fun,' dictum. One such memorandum says, 'you remember Jim Aubrey saying, 'put a sexy dame in each picture and make a 77 Sunset Strip if that is what is necessary, but give me sex and action.' A letter written by a west coast CBS official to his superior criticizes several CBS programs as being 'a far cry' from Mr. Aubrey's dictum of 'broads, bosoms, and fun.'

"Mr. Aubrey's concern with the initial reaction to *Route 66* was such that he met with the show's producers to discuss the matter in November, 1960. The Aubrey dictum reportedly went into effect after this meeting. Whether Mr. Aubrey did or did not use these precise words to describe what he wanted done is less pertinent than the fact that the show thereafter began to feature excessive violence and sex.

"The same west coast official who wrote the above letter of criticism was apparently pleased with the spirit of cooperation evidenced by *Route 66* producers after the Aubrey meeting.

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He wrote regarding an episode in early January, 1961, that:

"* * * I must acknowledge that *Baby Doll* has more than a generous share of bosom amply displayed to a point where program practices is screaming in anguish, and (she) wears over a pair of very spiked heels the tightest pair of slacks ever to be entered by womenkind without mechanical assistance.'"

Mr. Aubrey's desires prevailed and all became well with the network's world.

At NBC the word also was out to liven things up. One witness made reference to a statement that "there should be sex and violence in the show or we could not get the Saturday 8:30 time period."

Another witness, Ivan Tors, a producer of *Man and the Challenge* noted: "I have no first hand knowledge about whose suggestion it was. I know only that I was told to put sex and violence in my show."

Mr. Tors may not have known but others around the network were referring to this as the "Kintner edict" after Robert Kintner, NBC President, just as CBS had its Aubrey Dictum. Men who wanted more action did not need fear lack of support from the top.

A subcommittee check showed that the network did rather well in its efforts to encourage more violence. In one episode of *The Lieutenant* there was a fight that contained 25 blows, including "kicks to the groin, the stomach, and kidneys and two attempts to stomp on one participant's face. There were also four karate-type rabbit punches."

Or again *The Virginian*, called by NBC "a family type show," had an episode in which there were 13 killings "nine by shooting, 2 by knives and gun butts, one by torture and one by smothering. In addition, there were five fights with fists, guns, knives and rope, and three assaults by guns, fists, rocks. There were also four threats by gun."

Did the network consider this violence? Apparently not, for when Walter Scott, a top NBC executive, testified about the episode, he said:

". . . . I did not find it objectionable. . . . I think there were scenes of physical violence within the program. But I would not call the program a violent program."

We think Mr. Scott is being too modest. *The Virginian* episode certainly would have satisfied our taste for violence and then some.

But we realize that individual shows like these are exceptions. The networks find it hard to get writers and producers who can come up with this sort of gore night after night, week after week. We the public should appreciate that they are trying to give us "what we want." And trying hard.

American movie makers have solved the problem posed by incompetent scripts and mumbling actors. The key to the solution is the common garden variety of eyeball.

Fastening the camera lens on the human lens for long periods of time eliminates the necessity of words, while at the same time providing the impression of deep inner meaning that words could not express.

Lilith has raised this technique to the level of classic art. Warren Beatty has less lines to memorize in this film than a summer stock bit player in the middle of December. Occasionally he climbs to great dramatic heights, blurting out brief phrases such as "you bitch" or "I need help." Aside from these memorable lines, he needs only to look confused and sensitively inarticulate.

Beatty, playing the role of a worker in an insane asylum, is unable to answer any question put to him by the other members of the cast. He invariably stares at his interrogator, permits his eyes to water slightly, lets his lips quiver, and finally produces that I-feel-these-things-so-deeply-I-just-can't-say-them look.

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Warren Beatty stared at Jean Seberg through a small window. Jean Seberg stared at us through bars. Kim Hunter stared at both of them. The other patients stared at nothing in particular. We stared at the clock in the movie house and wondered when all this staring was going to stop.

Towards the end of this tedious film we had to suppress a desire to leap up and cry out, "For God's sake, say something."

The glower, the glare, the inquisitive glance, the shy squint and the passionate gaze have become the language of the sensitive American film.

This may be art, but, judging by the merits of the few words that are spoken and the actors who speak them, we are left with the suspicion that it may also be necessity.

In *Lilith,* Beatty becomes snared into the mad world of Jean Seberg. This has fairly disasterous consequences, not the least of which being the suicide of the only semi-articulate person in the film: Peter Fonda. The movie would have us believe that Fonda killed himself because of unrequited love but we think he may have been driven to self-destruction by the deafening silence.

In the last scene, an emotionally distressed Beatty appeals to the asylum staff for assistance. The movie ends before the director and his assistant reply to the plea. If they did decide to take care of him we can only hope they began their treatment with a little speech therapy.

Joe Timberry is the world's greatest boomerang thrower, so he says. Lately, Joe has been having his troubles. He climbed up on the Eiffel Tower and commenced to demonstrate his skill. The first toss missed Joe by 30 feet but came a good deal closer to a tourist who wasn't expecting it. His next two efforts didn't work out, either. Finally Joe was ordered by police to cease his demonstration.

Before he went to Paris, Joe was in Washington with an international sports show. The fates were against him here, too. He set one boomerang ablaze with fireworks and threw it. It got tangled up with some bunting hanging from the arena's ceiling and landed in the audience. Similar problems harrassed his other throws.

It should be noted in Joe's defense that the Australian aborigine heaved his boomerang at a kangeroo, a wallaby or a cockatoo in the broad expanse down under and not in an enclosed arena draped with bunting. The credentials of a painter should not be questioned simply because he is unable to do watercolors while skin diving.

Joe is probably, as he claims, the greatest boomerang thrower in the world.

But in case any of our readers wish eventually to challenge his title, we pass along the intelligence that one can order boomerangs for $5.00 each from Original Boomerangs, Box 2990, G.P.O., Sydney, N.S.W., Australia. They arrive tested and guaranteed to come back.

Our friend Tom Whitbread, the poet, dropped into town not so long ago. We have never thought of Tom as an organization man, but that just proves how little we knew. Turns out he's been elected, for a second term, President of the National Amateur Press Association, a lively little organization dedicated to the principle that there is some news fit to print that the *New York Times* hasn't discovered.

Tom's description of the NAPA and its members aroused our curiosity to the extent that we sent in five dollars for a membership, entitling us, among other things, to receive a monthly bundle of our fellow members' editorial products.

We also got the Constitution and By-Laws and a couple of friendly letters from officials of the organization.

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The constitution looks like most such documents until you read the fine print. NAPA expects its officers to be active and it warns them in Article VI: "Each officer, elected or appointed, shall publish or contribute to an amateur paper at least quarterly. Failure to fulfill this requirement may constitute reason for removal at the discretion of the President." So, you see, the "publish or perish" doctrine is not limited to the academic world.

Among the officers presumably covered is a person who, according to paragraph 13 of the same article, goes under the imposing title of Chairman of the Bureau of Critics.

Every member, in order to vote, must either contribute at least 300 words a year to an amateur paper or personally hand-set (our linotype operator, please note) at least 1000 words.

NAPA is concerned not only with literary material but with typography. The constitution says, "The convention by majority vote may correct typographical errors or ungrammatical wording in any proposed amendment or new constitution."

At the end of the Constitution, there is a note:

"Handset in Modern 8A at the Sign of The Scarlet Cockeral and Leaden Slivers by R. Babcock."

We've received our first bundle of NAPA products and they provide a fascinating indication of the wide variety of type faces available to the amateur publisher. Among the publications were these:

The "18th Excavation" of *The Graveyard Gazette.*

The *Dingbat Gossip* of Phoenix, Ariz.

Hemidemisemiquavers: "All of the material was written and all of the type was set by John Gullick, at the Sign of the Constant Fumbler, Lakewood, Ohio . . . May the ghost of Herr Gutenburg protect my fingers!"

THE IDLER, being published for profit, does not qualify as a NAPA publication.

If, however, our magazine comes to you a little late one month, you will know it is because we are preparing our annual 300 words to be submitted, with trepidation, to the Bureau of Critics.

We're still waiting to see some real enforcement by the Administration of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 —or of the Supreme Court desegregation ruling of 1954 for that matter.

Over 98% of the South's Negro students still go to segregated schools. We're all for moderate progress, but isn't that a little too moderate?

Our mail usually comes early in the morning. And in amongst the bills we occasionally find a news release produced by Herb Shaw of the Harvard Medical School.

The other morning, before we even had time to have a cup of coffee, we found ourselves reading the following:

Amino acids may occur in one of two forms (isomers) depending upon the spatial arrangement of the groups attached to the central carbon atom. The assigned definitions are D-amino acids and L-amino acids, each being a mirror image of the other. Naturally occurring amino acids found as constitutents of proteins have the L configuration though occasional D-amino acids are found in bacteria or other lower forms of life."

This sort of thing is hard to take prior to the sun's crossing of the yardarm.

Herb goes on to report that Dr. Thomas J. Gill III, the man responsible for the thoughts above, "cautioned, however, that 'we are still not in the position to give an unequivocal answer to the question of what is necessary for antigenicity.'"

Sorry, Herb, but we can't help Dr. Gill on that one. But let it never be said that we won't print news we don't understand at all.

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SALTLICKHAM

Elizabeth fell down the stairs the other night and fractured a few ribs. We sent her over to County General and yesterday she came home.

Today I got the bill. I looked at the bill and then I looked at Elizabeth and the two just didn't add up. At that price they should have replaced the bad ribs, put in new planking and covered her with fiberglass for good measure. But, far as I could tell, it was pretty much the same old Elizabeth.

I called up Doc Tompkins to find out what the story was and he said the hospital thought that the ribs would heal themselves and so they hadn't done much more than put a bandage around her, taken a lot of X-rays and given her a few tests. Doc Tompkins said you just had to figure on spending a lot of money when you go to the hospital these days and I said I figured he was right.

Elizabeth said the least we should be able to do would be to get one of those X-rays for her picture book, so I called the hospital about that and they said that was "not normal procedure."

I asked if they meant by that "no," and they said "yes."

As I write this, I have the hospital bill and my checkbook in front of me. I haven't examined the situation too closely but it appears that the bill has one more digit in it than the balance in the checkbook.

Believe me, Mr. Editor, I am not telling you this to ask for a raise. I'd just like you to inform those Congressmen down there that Elizabeth and I promise not to lose one fluid ounce of our individual initiative if they come up with a medicare bill to take care of people like us. Back when I started working, quite a few decades ago, individual initiative was a good deal cheaper than it is today. Don't worry about us, though. We'll muddle through one way or another. But I'll tell you one thing: I'm keeping Elizabeth on the first floor for awhile.

Everybody was glad to hear that Secretary McNamara is not going to close down the Nike Site at Saltlickham. Especially happy was Mildred Pilliwilly who has a couple of German Shepherd females and had just worked out a deal to have them get together with one of the male police dogs they use to guard the site.

Wil Crockett just dropped by to say he's also had his troubles with County General. Took his son there and they told him he had a "touch of double pneumonia."

Reminds me of a lady I once knew who hated to say that anyone had died. When her husband passed away she told everyone he had suffered a "slight case of the fatalities."

Uncle Abner

Mrs. Esther Peterson is the nicest "pernicious threat" we know. She's the President's special assistant for Consumer Affairs and, so far as we can figure out, she's been going about her business in a sensible and useful fashion.

Printer's Ink, a trade magazine, doesn't think so. In an editorial it called her "the most pernicious threat to advertising today," and said she was "pitting consumers against advertisers for her own purposes."

The most pernicious threat against advertising today, as we see it, are those advertising men who lack good taste, judgment, integrity and common sense.

We, as consumers, have to pit ourselves against the advertiser for the simple reason that we no longer trust him. He has lied to us. When he has not lied he has exaggerated. And when he has not exaggerated he has so distorted and misused the English language that his message has become meaningless.

We are meant to be grateful to him for having provided us with the highest standard of living of any country

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Frank Smith, in *Congressman from Mississippi,* a book well worth reading, tells the story of then House Majority Leader John McCormack being goaded by insults from a Republican gadfly. In a classic display of that quality of tact and diplomacy characterizing much of the public relations between Congressmen, Majority Leader McCormack said, "I have minimum high regard for the gentleman."

in the world. To the extent that this true (and it is in part just another advertising man's exaggeration) we are dutifully grateful. But we are also ungrateful for the times that we have been hoodwinked, misled, and cajoled into purchasing products that fail to meet their advertised standards. We are ungrateful for false values created in order to sell products or services. We are ungrateful for the constant interruption in our lives for commercial messages brought by broadcast, telephone, the press and mail. We are ungrateful for the lowering of entertainment standards brought by sponsors who know only how to sell. And we are ungrateful for the whole ersatz culture created in this country by advertising.

We would have no quarrel with the advertising man if he stuck to the task of honestly setting forth the advantages of his product or service. This is his business. Determining the nation's values or setting its standard of entertainment is not his business and he should leave such matters to those better qualified.

If he makes it his business then we, or Mrs. Peterson, or anyone else has the right to question and to criticize. It is our world these people are tinkering with and we are not going to take it passively.

If this means being party to a pernicious threat, count us in.

THE IDLER'S JOURNAL

This year I am going to buy many calendars. Desk calendars, wall calendars, wallet calendars, calendars that light up in the night, calendars with lots of space to write things, and calendars with no space at all.

I am doing this because I don't want the same thing to happen to me in late 1965 that occurred last September. Long about the middle of that month, I realized that I needed a new calendar. Someone had given me one of those one page jobs that have the months listed across the top and the dates down the side. 365 blocks (366 in leap year), representing days past, present and future, face you each time you view the calendar.

In order to determine the day's schedule you have to find the right month along the top and the right date along the side, then move down and laterally until the two columns intersect in a block that symbolizes TODAY.

This may sound a bit complicated, but with a T-Square and triangle, it's really nothing. Without some sort of mechanical aid, however, the 365 blocks on the calendar become a frustrating blur and you are liable to find yourself dating a letter "Tuesday the August."

I have always suffered from a disease that has been called tabular astigmatism. A primary sympton of this disease is the inability to read mileage tables on road maps.

These tables are triangular in shape. Along the vertical edge there is an alphabetical list of cities. Along the hypotenuse the list is repeated.

To determine how far it is from Chicago to Bangor you move down from Chicago and right from Bangor until the two lines meet in a block containing the correct mileage.

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I do all right if I want to go from Albuquerque to Albany, but become hopelessly confused if my travels demand that I drive from Akron to Zanesville. This, I realize, is silly since it's actually much shorter to go from Akron to Zanesville than from Albuquerque to Albany. But when it comes to reading these mileage tables, I'll take alphabetically adjacent cities over geographically adjoining ones any day.

For example, I long maintained the delusion that Boston was just 32 miles from Youngstown, O., simply because my finger slipped.

I have made this digression only to explain why I found it so hard to read the large full-year calendar in my office and why, long about the middle of September, I thought I should go out and purchase a conventional one.

My advice to others who would buy a calendar for the current year in September is precisely this: don't.

You will be laughed at, ignored, considered a wise guy or made the subject of unbearable pity.

Most of the stores I visited tried to foist one of their 1965 calendars on me with such reassurances as, "It won't be long, Sir." Occasionally I ran into some genuine sympathy. I appreciated the girl who told me, "Gee, I'm sorry but we just burned a big stack of them last week. We're only saving a few for scratch paper. I'd let you have mine, but I'm afraid it's kind of messed up."

At this point, I was ready to settle for a messed up calendar, but she had been repeatedly demonstrating a new multi-colored ball point pen on hers, and there wasn't even room to write "Pay phone bill" on any page prior to December 27th.

After hours of searching and listening to comments such as "Hey, here's one who wants a 1964 calendar — in September, yet," I finally found a store that sold a calendar designed for the school year. It began in September and ended in August. I suppose I could get by on this one through next summer, but I'm not going to take a chance of going into a store shortly before Labor Day, having a 1966 calendar shoved in my hands and being told, "It won't be long, Sir." That's why I'm stocking up on 1965 calendars now.

THE IDLER

WE CAN END THE DRAFT

By Senator Gaylord Nelson

Editor's Note: The article that follows comes from a speech delivered in the Senate by Senator Nelson, Democrat of Wisconsin. While we cannot fully share Senator Nelson's optimism concerning the possibility of ending the draft, we feel that serious discussion of this matter has been long overdue. Senator Nelson's speech is the best analysis that we've seen to date.

Our present draft system is outmoded. It should be terminated, in the interests of national security as well as justice. With careful planning, we can end the draft, responsibly, in 1967.

Let me list some of the principle shortcomings of our draft system today:

First. It is unjust and inequitable. The fact that 42 per cent of the eligible age group do not serve destroys the whole concept of universal military service.

Second. It creates countless personal hardships. Most draftees are not called up until they are 23 years old. For 5 years after they become 18, they live a life of needless uncertainty because

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their plans for a career, marriage, and a future of their own are almost completely dominated by their draft status.

Third. It is militarily inefficient. The draft has been proven to be a poor source of the kind of professional servicemen which we need to guarantee national security today.

Fourth. The draft wastes both money and manpower.

Fifth. The draft is no longer necessary. The facts show that we could eliminate it by 1967 if we begin now to develop a better alternative system.

Walter Millis, military historian, has said:

"It is shocking that Congress automatically extends the Draft Act year after year with little or no debate."

Dr. Eli Ginsberg of the conservation and human resources project at Columbia University calls our attitude toward the draft "an invitation to national disaster."

Congressman Roman C. Pucinski of Illinois studied the draft in 1959. After an intensive survey in Chicago, he reported:

"The draft has a very important effect on the present development of our young people. Hundreds of thousands are forced to live in a shadow of constant doubt as to their future, when actually only a few thousands are ultimately drafted. Many young men who graduate from high school and who do not, or cannot because of economic reasons, go to college, find it impossible to get decent employment because the first thing they are asked by a potential employer is 'what is your draft status?' I could not begin to tell you the hardships that this situation is causing."

My own constituents often raise the issue with me. A mother in West Allis, Wis., wrote me as follows:

"My grandfather left Germany in 1870 to avoid the universal conscription of that country, and we fought two wars to oppose German militarism. My husband and I fear that if general acceptance of the draft law continues, we will become what we opposed then."

A family in Beloit, Wis., wrote me:

"These young men should be launching out into the future with confidence instead of hesitancy and cynicism. Service to their country should be something they willingly do in an emergency rather than something to try to avoid in times when they cannot see its significance or fairness. It doesn't help the Army to have to shape reluctant draftees into an enthusiastic crew. It would do better with volunteers in a well-trained, well-disciplined force. War and manpower needs have changed since the Civil War, and the Berlin and Cuban crises have shown that military conscription is not an effective weapon of the current cold war."

The Baby Boom

The post-World War II baby boom is breaking the back of the present draft system.

Assistant Draft Secretary Paul has testified that our military manpower needs will probably remain constant at about 2.7 million men.

But the pool of men of draft age, available for military service, is growing by leaps and bounds. Today there are more than 1.4 million youths reaching the age of 18 each year. No more than 670,000 of these men are needed for military service.

By 1967, the numbers of youths reaching the age of 18 will total 1,800,000.

Today we have a pool of men eligible for the draft, from 18½ to 26½ years old, which numbers 10.6 million. By 1967 this total will be 12.4 million. The pool of men of draft age grows by one-third every 6 or 7 years. Yet our military manpower needs remain approximately the same.

The effects of these indisputable facts on our draft system are shocking.

At present, the draft calls on the average only about 90,000 men a year —from a Nation which is producing more than a million potentially eligible men.

Less than 1 in 10 is actually drafted. The draft supplies only about 9 per cent of the present Army strength and

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Sen. Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin

about 15 per cent of the annual replacement quota of all the services. Some men enlist.

But the really startling fact is that only about 58 percent of those theoretically eligible serve at all. In other words, 42 per cent of these young men are not called upon to serve under what the public thinks of as a system of universal military service. For the most part, these men are not to be criticized. The facts show that we simply do not need all the men eligible for the draft. But rather than abandon a system which has been proved unnecessary, we maintain it and then corrupt it by excusing 42 per cent of the total.

We are stuck with a system which supplies far more men than we can use. So what do we do? We corrupt the system by providing more and more ways to avoid the draft. As a result we actually encourage our young men to seek ways to avoid service.

The result is that many of those who do end up being drafted feel not that they are a part of any great system of universal miliary service, but merely that they are the suckers who got caught.

Because the draft in its "pure" form supplies far more men than we need, we have corrupted the system to favor those who can afford to stay in college until they are 26 years old; those who marry early; men with criminal records or moral shortcomings; those who are mentally or physically below standard—and the standards are increasingly arbitrary; those whose employers will claim that they are essential.

Class Distinctions

The Defense Department does not want to draft men of very poor education. They are the hardest to train. So we push up our standards in preinduction examinations and the number disqualified in the South is much higher than in the North. One out of three men from South Carolina passed the examination in 1962, as compared with two out of three from Iowa.

While granting this exemption from universal military service to the poorly educated, we also grant a similar exemption of those of high educational level.

If the philosophical basis of universal military service is the belief that each man owes something to his country, I do not see how we can justify the fact that these two groups are arbitrarily excluded from the obligations of service. But each time the question is raised, we offer the weak alibi—"We do not need them."

Militarily Inefficient

I am sure that many people are aware of the inequities and injustices in the present draft system, but they feel that these are a part of the imperfections of life and that we must bear with a system vital to our national security even if it has its faults.

Therefore, it is important to understand that the draft is just as much a failure today from the standpoint of miliary efficiency.

Assistant Secretary Paul has testified:

"The volunteer is likely to be a better motivated soldier than the conscript. He is also available for a longer term of service, since initial enlistments are for 3- or 4-year terms as compared with a 2-year tour (for draftees)."

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At the present time, 97 out of 100 draftees leave the service as quickly as they can at the end of their tours. The money spent to train them is wasted. The morale of men who obviously cannot wait to get out is very low.

The Defense Department is well aware of these facts and has been for a long time. During the Korean war, faced with a serious emergency, more than 600,000 World War II veterans were called back while 1,600,000 young men of draft age were not called.

During the Berlin crisis, 150,000 reservists were called to active duty amid considerable protest, while the number of extra men drafted amounted to no more than several thousand.

Obviously, as these facts clearly show, a modern army needs trained professionals. A great mass of untrained men, waiting to get out, is of little value to the Armed Forces during a crisis.

Is Draft Necessary?

The facts I cite have been known to a lot of people for a long time. But we have struggled along with an inequitable, inefficient system because, I assume, most people thought it was necessary and there was not real alternative. I am sure there was a time when that was true. But it is no longer true today.

Any serious study of the facts shows that we could meet our manpower needs and build a better army if we would let the draft expire in 1967 and develop new and better system.

First, we must remember that we are not talking about all 2,700,000 men in our Armed Forces. We are talking only about the 90,000 who are to be drafted each year. We are talking about only 1 man in every 30 in the Armed Forces.

I think every serious student of the subject would agree that these 90,000

Spring . . . And Finnerty Pond

I had planned to take you, on the promise of spring,
To a high mountain valley where the wild-flowers cling
Close to the bank near a pond.
The pool's deep wonders are kept from view
By a thin mirror film — frescoe in blue
That's glazed by fantasy's wand.

But spring has passed through Finnerty Lake;
I stare from the bank as winter's first flake
Is lost in the mirror of dreams.
Dismayed by season's certain pace.
I watch these fragile bits of lace
Chill my well-thought schemes.

Soon a crust of winter will form and icy winds will flay
The flowers on the valley slope; the pond will mirror gray—
But only for a while . . .
Though winter's coat on summer's lake will form its crude cocoon,
I trust, by last year's calendar, that spring is coming soon—
My plans would make you smile . . .

—*Erbin Crowell*

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men could be eliminated without any appreciable loss to the strength of the services.

Some will argue, however, that this is not the real question. The question

is whether eliminating these 90,000 draftees, by eliminating the draft, would also cut down on voluntary enlistments by men who join up because they fear they would be drafted otherwise.

Assistant Secretary Paul was asked about this at hearings on extending the draft. He replied:

"I think the most important element in answering your quesion is, the absence of induction authority would drastically affect the recruitment programs that are now being conducted by the services, both in the enlisted and the officer area."

He said he did not think that we could maintain 2.5 million men in the armed services over the next 4 years without a draft law.

I would agree that this probably was correct for much of the period under discussion. But now circumstances are changing.

There is strong evidence that there will be enough volunteers to meet our manpower needs by 1967.

Moreover, we could easily fill in any shortages in the ranks by more imaginative use of civilian workers.

How to Attract Volunteers

Defense Department studies show that even with the existing pay system and existing manpower requirements, we may very well be able to fulfill our manpower needs without the draft in 1967.

If we will face up to the facts of life and modify our manpower policy we may even find ourselves with an oversupply of volunteers.

By 1967, the Defense Department estimates that there will be 12.4 million in the age group eligible for military service. The Department estimates that only about 590,000 will be needed for each year for active and reserve duty in all services.

The question is, therefore, whether we can attract 590,000 high quality volunteers without the draft.

The Defense Deparment has made a recent study on the extent to which the draft influences enlistment decisions.

A total of 46.8 percent of first-term Army enlistees said that the draft was no influence in their decision to enter the Army.

Another 16.5 per cent said the draft had very little influence. They most likely would have enlisted if there had been no draft. Thus a total of more than 63 per cent indicated that they probably would have joined the Army in any case.

If this seems surprising, one must remember that many young men still look to the armed services as a source of valuable training; others are anxious for adventure, and still others are affected by the high rate of unemployment among our youth.

But remember, these figures are based on the system as it exists today.

The number of volunteers could be greatly increased if we would simply do two things: Pay more realistic salaries; adopt more realistic standards of eligibility.

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Business attracts the number and the quality of men it needs by offering realistic salaries.

In Canada, a private starts at $112 a month, almost 50 per cent more than in the United States. If he has specialized skills, he can earn as much as $202 a month—three times the American.

The Defense Department does recognize the principle that servicemen must receive a reasonable living wage, somewhat comparable with private business. But it recognizes this principle at every level except the beginning level.

To persuade men to reenlist, we have faced the facts of life and granted pay incentives. But to attract new men, we have simply relied on the compulsion of the draft.

America is too wealthy a country to rely on sheer force in order to solve its manpower problems.

As Prof. John Kenneth Galbraith has stated:

"The draft survives principally as a device by which we use compulsion to get young men to serve at less than the market rate of pay. We shift the cost of military service from the well-to-do taxpayer, who benefits by lower taxes, to the impecunious young draftee. This is a highly regressive arrangement which we would not tolerate in any other area. Presumably, freedom of choice here as elsewhere would be worth paying for."

I am convinced that if we were willing to offer realistic salaries to newly enlisted recruits, we could dramatically increase the flow of enlistments from our vast manpower pool.

Furthermore, I am convinced that the increase in costs would not be great. If we can persuade substantially increased number of men to enlist and to stay for longer periods, there will be a substantial savings in the training costs.

In 1957 the Secretary of Defense selected a special committee headed by Ralph Cordiner, president of General Electric Co., to study the need for pay increases. The committee reported that "modern war technology makes it almost impossible to train a specialist in 2 years," which is the time the average draftee stays in service.

As Cordiner stated:

"I found antagonism and bitterness over the draft. They were checking off the days until they got out. We must devote 25 per cent of our military effort to training men who don't stay. The trainers are discouraged. They resemble the poor teacher whose every class flunks."

The Cordiner report estimated, on the basis of figures submitted by the Armed Forces, that more realistic pay would increase enlistments and actually make possible a reduction in the size of the Armed Forces, especially in training and transportation of personnel, and a 10 per cent cutback in maintenance technicians. The reasoning was that higher morale and better training would also reduce damage to technical equipment. The total possible saving, if all Cordiner report recommendations were adopted, was estimated at $2.8 billion in 1960 and $5 billion in 1962.

In 1962 the Army found that it cost $3,880 to equip, give basic training and advanced individual training, and transport an enlisted man to his first unit assignment.

If he were recruited, the enlistment cost was $162. If he was drafted, the enlistment cost was $66. Altogether, it cost $4,042 to prepare a recruit for his first unit assignment as against $3,946 for the draftee—a difference of $96 in favor of the draftee.

However, after training, the Army had 1 year less service from the draftee. This works out to $1,554 per man-year for the recruit compared with $2,466 for the draftee, an advantage of $912 per man-year in favor of the volunteer.

Suppose a soldier serves 3 years and then reenlists for another 3 years. Allowing for a bonus he receives on reenlistment, the cost of enlistment, training and transportation for this man would total $4,800. During his

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6 years of service he would replace three inductees who would have cost a total of $11,838. The saving represented by this 6-year man would be over $7,000 in enlistment, training and transportation costs. The saving would be greater if the man reenlisted for more than 3 years.

Knoxville Attorney General Clarence Blackburn says that a woman telephoned him on Election Day and asked if it were true that Goldwater, if elected, would "sell my TV."

Blackburn said he explained that Goldwater had been talking about the Tennessee Valley Association but the lady said she would vote against Goldwater anyway "just to be safe."

These estimates cannot be applied directly to today's problem. But the principle is clear. A professional military system based upon volunteers who are well motivated will be more efficient, more effective, and more economical. Since long-term, regular career personnel reenlist at the rate of about 90 per cent, I suspect that the increase in pay of a voluntary system could be offset by savings in training and maintenance costs.

In Great Britain, the armed forces have followed industry's example and devoted all their talents into attracting recruits. Like Canada, they too have eliminated the draft. They have improved not only the pay but housing and recreation facilities; travel allowances, and educational opportunities. They have expanded their recruiting and publicity operations.

At present, we are spending about $50 million a year in recruiting. I am convinced that a private business with $50 million to attract qualified people would have no difficulty in hiring 600,000 a year.

While discussing ways to attract more volunteers, special attention should be paid to the officer ranks. It is often stated that the draft is particularly important in forcing qualified men into service as officers. I think its use for this purpose is especially questionable. We could easily solve our officer supply problem by expanding the Academies.

Among service academy graduates, about 85 per cent remain beyond their obligated service commitment. Army and Air Force officers commissioned from Officer Candidate School—OCS—have a retention factor of about 75 per cent. Air Force aviation cadet graduates since 1957 have a retention range between 65 and 90 per cent. However, these three sources together provide less than 10 per cent of the required number of new officers. The remainder enter through sources with much poorer retention experience.

Among ROTC graduates, the retention rate is only 33 per cent. Among graduates of the Navy Officer Candidate School, which provides about one-third of the officers commissioned annually by the Navy, the average rate is about 12 per cent. These men must serve for 3 years. Then most of them leave.

The major procurement sources for naval flying officers are the aviation cadet and aviation programs. They have retention rates of 45 and 30 per cent respectively.

Standards of Eligibility

Another way to increase the flow of volunteers into the Armed Forces would to be revise our standards. Some of these standards have actually been set to reduce the number of men who could qualify for military service, because we have such an oversupply of men available. It is time that we took a careful look at our enlistment standards and revised them to enable more and more men to qualify while still maintaining such standards as are really necessary.

Assistant Secretary Paul testified:

"Our studies indicate that, under recent physical and mental standards, about one-third of all young men examined for service (including volunteers as well as draft registrants) fail

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to qualify for peacetime military service, as compared to an overall rejection rate of about 25 per cent during the period of the Korean conflict."

General Hershey, director of the Selective Service System, has stated:

"There is some evidence, though, that this overall rate (of rejections) might eventually climb toward two-fifths * * *. Additionally, both physical and mental criteria seem to be gradually interpreted and applied on a more and more rigid basis."

A review of the history of our present standards indicates that many of them were established mainly to keep back the flow of volunteers. If previous standards still operated today, we would admit more volunteers—and there would be little need for an average of 90,000 draft calls. Indeed, there is much evidence indicating that standards have been raised primarily to justify the present draft system.

The arbitrariness of today's standards can be clearly shown. For instance, it is possible for a man to be found unfit for enlistment—and still be drafted. The mental qualifications for enlistment are higher than those for the draft.

The recent report of the President's task force on manpower conservation, showed that 44,000 men were disentitled, "One-third of a Nation," qualified on mental, physical, or moral grounds when they sought to enlist in 1962.

Individual cases of outstanding athletes found unfit for military service occasionally hit the headlines and dramatize the arbitrariness of our standards. I think a basic question is whether we must set the same standards for all men accepted into service. Does a clerk in a Washington procurement agency need the same physical abilities as a front line rifleman? Does a cook need the same education and training as a radar technician? Should a radio repairman be barred from service if he is not quite tall enough, or is overweight or underweight? Would any businessman expect all his employees to meet the same mental and physical standards?

If we merely returned to the standards which applied at the time of the Korean war, there would be far more men qualified for service than there are today. At that time, about one-fourth were rejected, compared with about one-third today.

If we returned to Korean war standards, there would be about 9 per cent more of the manpower pool eligible.

Almost every NATO country rejects far fewer men than we do. The American rejection and deferment rates combined permit 42 per cent of all young men theoretically available for the draft to escape military service. The rejection rate alone is now more than 33 per cent.

In other countries, the rejection rate runs from only 1 per cent in Turkey to about 25 per cent in Holland and Norway.

Reducing enlistment standards need not lower the quality of the Armed Forces.

During World War II and the Korean war, many men who rated low on their admittance tests did a creditable job.

In fact, there is clear evidence to show that the men, once properly trained, turn out to be very good soldiers. An excellent book, "The Uneducated," by Prof. Eli Ginsberg and Douglas W. Bray, was produced shortly after General Eisenhower became president of Columbia University. The book says:

"Clearly, at a time when the Armed Services needed men badly, they were able with a small investment, to turn many illiterates and poorly educated men into capable soldiers."

This experience was confirmed by training successes between 1954 and 1957, and in new experimental programs this year.

General Hershey, in testimony before the Employment and Manpower Subcommittee of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, noted that in Israel only 4 per cent are rejected.

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Much training is done in the Army. In Russia, the air force and navy have higher standards than the army but "much rehabilitative work after induction" is done in service.

I understand that the Defense Department already has plans for training such men in the event of a national emergency. It is simply a matter of applying our intelligence and skills to doing a job right.

Recently Sargent Shriver noted that many men of lower qualifications would especially like to be in the Armed Forces. They would appreciate such a chance to be trained and educated and make some contribution to their country.

This point is borne out in a letter to me from General Hershey, dated April 15, 1964. He stated:

"This headquarters receives a steady flow of letters and other inquiries from and on behalf of young men who, for one reason or another, have been disqualified from military service but who desire to enter service. The volume of requests for help of this nature indicates to me that significant numbers of young men not qualified for military service really want to serve."

A Look at Manpower Needs

There is nothing sacred about the present level of 2.7 million men in our Armed Forces. When General Eisenhower was President, the number was substantially less, averaging approximately 2.5 million at the end of his administration.

Our demonstrated capacity to transport large numbers of men from United States bases to join up with equipment and materials in Europe, for instance, indicates that the number stationed abroad could be reduced.

A reduction in manpower needs would, of course, remove one of the main historical justifications for our antiquated draft system.

There are many other ways in which we could accomplish the same objectives with fewer men in actual service.

The number of ground-combat enlisted personnel throughout the service amounts only 14 per cent of all other elisted men in service.

Only about one-seventh of the total force are actual combat troops. Twenty per cent are in administrative and clerical work, and mechanics and repairmen make up 25 per cent.

Representative Thomas B. Curtis told the Seabee veterans convention a few years ago:

"When we examine * * * the work performed by men in uniform for the Military Establishment, we will find that at least 80 per cent (and some even estimate higher) is not fighting nor will it ever be fighting. It has to do with supplies, transportation, warehousing, maintenance, overhaul, bookkeeping, housing, feeding, overhead. What they (military leaders) have not yet learned is that the civilian enterprise is better equipped to train men in those skills than the military, and incidentally, at one-tenth the cost, because we don't have to provide room, board, and wages for our civilian trainess. ***"

"Project Native Son," which the Air Force put into practice a few years ago, replaced military men with civilians living near the Air Force installation. It reduced manpower needs and also the need for military housing and supplies. In fiscal 1955, according to the September 6, 1954, issue of Aviation Week, the Air Materiel Command found that it could use 31,000 foreign nationals to relieve 43,000 military personnel.

Full and imaginative use of the "contracting out" process would reduce military manpower needs substantially, and cut related costs accordingly.

Another way to reduce the number of men needed each year is to increase the average length of stay.

A further means of reducing manpower needs is to increase efficiency of present forces. Administration will also be a problem with an enlarged armed force. Secretary McNamara has

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shown great ability in increasing efficiency and reducing costs. Yet recently the General Accounting Office revealed that the Army had put 35,000 soldiers in wrong jobs, wasting some $48 million. Highly trained Army helicopter mechanics in Korea have been given jobs as lifeguards, dog handlers, and company clerks. At Fort Leavenworth, Kans., a soldier with 13 weeks of specialized training in aircraft maintenance was assigned as a military policeman, under a "personnel management system that generates misassignments."

The panel headed by Ralph Cordiner said that if all its reforms in military manpower policies were adopted, combat capability could be improved by 8 to 15 per cent within 5 years.

We also could take greater advantage of automation. In civilian life, automation use increases about 3 per cent per man each year; each year, one man is able to do a little more than he was last year through improved technology.

Obviously, there are special problems in military service, but new forces, new missiles, new electronic techniques certainly affect the capability for each man.

I have concentrated my argument on the question of the military necessity for the draft.

I have not stressed other considerations which are in our minds as we evaluate the draft. But let me just note in conclusion some of the advantages which accrue if the draft is abandoned and there is a return to the traditional American volunteer system for obtaining military manpower.

For the student and the anxious parent, ending the draft will remove the cloud of uncertainty which is so unsettling during those crucial formative years in a young man's life. Plans for school, for a job, for marriage, for a family—will be made with a greater measure of certainty and confidence.

For the educator and counselor on the campus, it will take away the evasion mentality among young men which often creates undesirable attitudes toward our citizenship responsibilities and duties.

For the city official and police officer and the youth worker, it will take away one recognized factor which accentuates and intensifies juvenile delinquency.

For the businessman, it will enable him to hire promising young men without fear that a draft board call would take them away. It would mean greater use of private enterprise in servicing military installations. For the military men, it will mean a shift to a professional, better trained, higher morale Military Establishment. For all citizens, it will remove a system which emphasizes class divisions, and which is not in accord with our democratic tradition.

HOPELESS

Following is a series of ads that appeared in the Machias Valley News Observer, of Maine:

MONDAY: "For Sale: R. D. Smith has one sewing machine for sale PHO 958. Call after 7 p.m. and ask for Mrs. Kelley who lives with him cheap."

TUESDAY: "We regret having erred in R. D. Smith's ad yesterday. It should have read: For Sale: R. D. Smith has one sewing machine for sale. Cheap. PHO 958 and ask for Mrs. Kelley who lives with him after 7 p.m.'"

WEDNESDAY: "R. D. Smith has informed us that he has received several annoying telephone calls because of an error we made in his classifed ad yesterday. His ad stands corrected: 'For Sale: R. D. Smith has one sewing machine for sale. Cheap. PHO 958 and ask for Mrs. Kelley who loves with him.'"

THURSDAY: "NOTICE: I, R. D. Smith, have no sewing machine for sale. I smashed it. Don't call 958, the phone has been taken out. I have not been carrying on with Mrs. Kelly. Until yesterday, she was my housekeeper."

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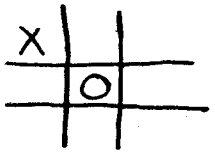
GOREY ON TIC-TAC-TOE

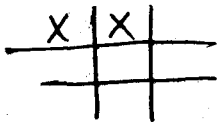


Here is an exciting situation in which X has the choice of seven different moves. This is because he started the game. You will note that O has only six choices since he started second and must await X's next move.

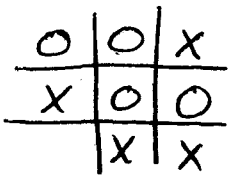
X can move either to Upper Center or Left Center and thereby eliminate one possibility of success for O. On the other hand, depending on whether O is a friend, his boss or a client, X may want to move to Right Center or Right Bottom. This won't help him win the game but may help the sale.

O can counter a move to Upper Center or Left Center by a swift scrawl in either Left Bottom or Upper Right respectively. This forces X into a columnar shift, one of the most undesired moves in the game. Wilson Purdett playing the Nationals in 1928 forced Phineas Milbrook to make such a move and subsequently went on to win the championship.

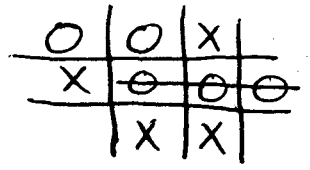
The only possible recovery from a columnar shift will be a Corner Trump which may be ruled out by O surreptiously erasing one of the previous X's.



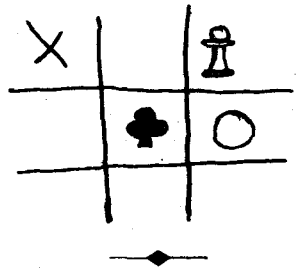
It can easily be seen by the above diagram that O is quite an inexperienced (or perhaps indecisive) player. In any case, he will quickly lose the game at this rate.



It is O's turn to play in this classic situation of the great game. His choices are rather limited but if he is truly brilliant he can make the Russian Twist, which involves a slight alteration of the board, thus:



Next month we will discuss the ethics of the following game, found on a bar napkin at the Shoreham late one evening:



The suggestion is being advanced here that perhaps this is the time to consider a severance of diplomatic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. . . . .

—David Lawrence in a recent column

Listening to those old reliable sources again, huh, David?

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UNFINISHED BUSINESS

The last session of Congress was notable for what it did. It also didn't do a lot of things. With Capitol Hill back in business, it is worth taking a look at those measures that failed to pass during the 88th Congress, for these proposals will be the basis for much of the congressional discussion in the months to come.

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ECONOMIC POLICY

Quality Stabilization. Small business interests again failed in 1964 to persuade Congress to enact legislation that would permit manufacturers to fix the minimum retail prices of their nationally branded goods. The proposed legislation, known in the 88th Congress as the Quality Stabilization bill, was tabled by the Senate Commerce Committee. The measure was the most recent of numerous fair trade bills that many small business and trade organizations (particularly retail druggist) have pushed during the past decade. A companion House bill, approved by the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee in 1963, never got out of the House Rules Committee. Both the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations opposed the bills.

Federal Reserve Reforms. Congress did not act on proposals by Rep. Wright Patman (D-Texas) to make major changes in the operation of the Federal Reserve System. The proposals, embodied in half-a-dozen bills, would restrict the Fed's existing independent status and subject it to more direct control from the Executive Branch and Congress. The Domestic Finance Subcommittee of the House Banking Committee held hearings on Patman's bills, but no further action occurred.

CIVIL BENEFITS

Social Security, Medicare. The Social Security Amendments of 1964, which included a controversial "medicare" amendment backed by the President, died in conference at the end of the session. The House July 29 had passed the bill giving 20 million Social Security beneficiaries a five percent increase in their monthly payments. Subsequently the Senate Sept. 2 gave the Johnson Administration a major legislative victory when it adopted, by a 49-44 roll call, an amendment increasing the benefits and providing medical care for the aged through Social Security. The medicare proposal, sponsored by liberals throughout the postwar period, had never before passed either chamber of Congress.

The bill was deadlocked and died in conference when Senate conferees, only two of whom had voted for the medicare amendment on the Senate floor, refused to accept a bill without some kind of health plan. House conferees led by Wilbur D. Mills (D Ark.), a longtime opponent of medicare, were adamantly opposed to any compromise. Adjournment without a Social Security increase was a disappointment for Members in an election year. Medicare proponents, however, regarded this as a small victory, since chances for a new bill next year would be improved without a 1964 Social Security raise.

Appalachia Bill. The House did not act before adjournment on the President's bill for aid to Appalachia. Although a companion bill was passed Sept. 25 by the Senate by a 45-13 roll-call vote, Democratic House leaders were uncertain they could produce enough Members in the last days of

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the session to approve the President's program.

The President listed the measure as one of 30 bills that he hoped Congress would enact in 1964 before adjourning.

As passed by the Senate, the bill authorized $1.06 billion for economic development of the 11-state Appalachia region. Of this total, $480 million was for a road-building program, with additional funds authorized for such projects as construction of health facilities and sewage treatment plants, increased federal grant-in-aid programs and mining area restoration.

Education. Although the 88th Congress enacted an impressive number of important new education bills, it failed to break past deadlocks over federal scholarships to college students and federal aid to public schools. The House Education and Labor Committee tried a new approach to minimize church-state conflict over public school aid: a "shared time" proposal under which students from private or church schools would study subjects such as science and mathematics in a public school. The legislation authorized federal funds for teaching equipment needed in "shared time" classes. It received nearly unanimous approval from education lobbies but was not reported by the Committee. It was expected to be reconsidered in 1965.

A bill by Sen. Vance Hartke (D Ind.) providing for federal scholarships was reported by the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee Aug. 19, but received no further action during 1964. It also incorporated two 1963 Administration requests providing for federally insured loans and for grants to colleges for work-study programs. A smaller work-study program was authorized in the anti-poverty bill.

Truth in Lending. Both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson in their consumer messages to Congress urged the enactment of "truth-in-lending" legislation. However, Congress took no floor action in 1964 on a bill which would require lenders to provide borrowers with a full disclosure of finance charges in connection with extensions of credit. The Senate Banking and Currency Committee, by an 8-6 vote, recommitted the bill to the Subcommittee on Production and Stabilization.

Truth in Packaging. Congress failed in 1964 to take any action on an Administration-backed bill to prohibit unfair and deceptive packaging and labeling of consumer commodities, despite President Johnson's request for the enactment of such legislation in his Consumer Message Feb. 5. The Senate Judiciary Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee held hearings and approved the bill in 1963, but the full Committee did not act on it in 1964.

Firearm Regulation. In light of President Kennedy's assassination, it was anticipated that Congress would act in 1964 on bills tightening the federal laws regarding the sale of firearms. There was no House action and only hearings in the Senate. Despite a report by the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency urging that the Commerce Committee report out legislation to strengthen the Federal Firearms Act of 1938, the Commerce Committee Aug. 11 deferred action on bills before it. Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee Chairman Thomas J. Dodd (D Conn.), sponsor of a bill to prevent children from obtaining mail-order firearms, said he planned to investigate "the activities of the powerful lobbyists who have successfully stopped gun legislation from being passed."

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Tobacco Research, Advertising. Congress failed to enact legislation proposed as a follow-up to the Public Health Service's Jan. 1 report on smoking and health. A bill authorizing a research program on the detrimental elements of tobacco was reported Feb. 7 by the House Agriculture Committee but was pigeon-holed by the House Rules Committee. However, Congress provided $2.1 million for tobacco research in the fiscal 1965 agricultural appropriation bill.

Bills to strengthen federal regulation of cigarette advertising and labeling, and to prohibit the Federal Trade Commission from putting into effect its own rules, received hearings, but no further action, by the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. The FTC announced that beginning July 1, 1965, cigarette labels and advertising must include warnings about the potential health hazards of smoking. The effective date had been delayed six months to permit Congress in 1965 to consider labeling legislation before the FTC rules went into effect.

FOREIGN POLICY

Consular Treaty with U. S. S. R. The United States June 1 signed its first bilaterial treaty with the Soviet Union, an agreement to set up consulates in the two countries. President Johnson submitted the treaty to the Senate June 12. The Foreign Relations Committee did not take action on it in 1964 but the treaty, unlike legislation, would remain on the committee calendar for possible action in 1965. It guaranteed a citizen detained by the other country access to his consulate and gave diplomatic immunity to consular officers.

Immigration. Congress in 1964 failed to take action on President Johnson's high-priority bill to revise the national origins quota system over a five-year period, replace it with a first-come, first-served basis (giving priority to those with much-needed skills and those joining relatives in the United States), and allot no country more than 10 percent of the total immigration quota. Hearings were held by the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization and by the similar House Subcommittee.

LABOR, EMPLOYMENT

Minimum Wage and Overtime. Congress took no action on an Administration request for legislation extending federal minimum wage and overtime pay protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act to 735,000 workers not already covered, and extending overtime provisions of the Act to 1.8 million employees covered by other sections of the law. The General Labor Subcommittee of the House Education and Labor Committee held hearings on the Administration bill without reporting it. The Senate took no action on an identical measure.

Double Overtime. Congress also failed to act on an Administration proposal authorizing the Secretary of Labor to establish a 40-hour workweek in certain industries, with a double-time rate (instead of time-and-a-half) for overtime. The Select Labor Subcommittee of the House Education and Labor Committee held hearings, but failed to report the measure. No hearings were held in the Senate.

Area Redevelopment. The Administration's Area Redevelopment bill did not reach a vote in the House in 1964. The Democratic leadership reportedly was not certain it had the votes to pass the controversial bill. The House in 1963 had rejected its own bill — the Area Redevelopment Act Amendments — by a roll-call vote of 204-209, a major defeat for

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the Kennedy Administration. Subsequently the Senate passed a companion bill and sent it to the House. As passed by the Senate, the bill authorized an additional $455.5 million in loans and grants for the Area Redevelopment Administration through June 30, 1965. The House Banking and Currency Committee cut $100 million from the figure.

Accelerated Public Works. Congress did not enact proposed legislation to provide additional funds for accelerated public works. The bill was not Administration-endorsed. In 1962, Congress had enacted Administration legislation authorizing $900 million for immediate acceleration of federal public works spending in economically depressed areas. The House Public Works Committee in 1963 and the Senate Public Works Committee in 1964 reported bills authorizing additional accelerated public works spending (House bill: $900 million; Senate bill: $1.5 billion) but no further action occurred.

GENERAL GOVERNMENT

Presidential Inability and Succession. Final action on a constitutional amendment dealing with Presidential inability and succession failed to materialize in 1964, even though a resolution clarifying existing constitutional provisions passed the Senate Sept. 29. It (1) spelled out a procedure whereby the Vice President would assume the powers and duties of the Presidential office — but not the office itself — should the President ever become disabled, and (2) provided that if a vacancy occurred in the office of the Vice President, the President would name a person to fill the office subject to confirmation by a majority vote of the House and the Senate.

Television Debates. A majority of Senate Democrats successfully voted to table the conference report on a bill suspending for the 1964 elections the "equal time" requirement of the Communications Act of 1934. The action in effect made it impracticable for the networks to carry TV and radio debates between the Presidential or Vice Presidential candidates. The Senate Aug. 18 tabled the report by a 44-41 roll call (R 0-29; D 44-12). The bill, as approved in conference, permitted the networks to carry the debates without providing equal time to minor party candidates. The bill was similar to one passed in 1960 which had enabled the networks to carry the Kennedy-Nixon debates.

Department of Housing. A Johnson Administration request for the establishment of a Department of Housing and Community Development received no action in 1964. The request, included in the President's Jan. 27 omnibus housing message, was similar to President Kennedy's plan for a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing, which was blocked by both houses of Congress in 1962. It would have raised the Housing and Home Finance Agency to the Cabinet level.

Wiretapping and Crime Laws. Congress took no action in 1964 on a bill legalizing wiretapping by authorized personnel in investigation of certain serious crimes, outlawing other wiretapping, and granting immunity to witnesses in certain court cases. Although Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy urged enactment, the bill was left pending before the Senate Judiciary Committee. No hearings on the proposed legislation were held during the 88th Congress.

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NATIONAL SECURITY

Civil Defense. Although the House in 1963 had sharply reversed its past policies by approving a $190.6 million public fallout shelter construction bill, the Senate took no positive action on the bill in 1964. An Ad Hoc Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee March 2 voted 4-1 to defer action on the Administration proposal, and it never reached the Senate floor.

TRANSPORTATION, RESOURCES

Transportation Rate. A watered-down version of President Kennedy's 1962 request to exempt railroads and water carriers hauling certain commodities from Interstate Commerce Commission rate regulation was blocked in 1964, when the House Rules Committee refused to grant a rule for floor debate. The bill was backed by the Johnson Administration. The proposed legislation was intended to provide "equal competitive opportunities" in the common carrier transportation industry. Defeat of the bill was attributed largely to a hastily formed group known as the "Anti-Monopoly Transportation Conference," whose declared purpose was "out-right opposition" to the bill.

Water Pollution. One of President Johnson's priority bills which failed of enactment in 1964 provided new federal authority and money to control water pollution. The bill was passed by the Senate in 1963 and was reported to the House in September 1964. The bill established a Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, provided grants for research, increased grants for construction of municipal sewage treatment works and increased controls over pollution of interstate waters.

Another Administration-backed water bill, the Water Resources Planning Act, also was not enacted. The bill was designed to assure establishment of plans for development, conservation and use of water and related land resources.

A water resources research bill was enacted in 1964.

Central Arizona Project. One of the most costly water bills ever before Congress, sponsored by Arizona Sens. Barry Goldwater (R) and Carl Hayden (D), was not enacted in 1964, although it was reported to the Senate. The bill authorized construction and operation of the Lower Colorado River Basin project, including primarily the Central Arizona project, to provide Southwestern states with water for land reclamation, municipal and industrial purposes, flood control, improved navigation, recreation facilities, fish and wildlife development, and facilities to generate hydroelectric power. The cost of the long-range project was estimated at $1.3 billion. A series of smaller projects for development of the Upper Colorado River Basin were approved.

Park Lands. Congress in 1963 failed to enact these major proposals for establishment of national park units:

Indiana Dunes. The Senate passed an Administration bill to establish an Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore along Indiana's Lake Michigan shoreline. A companion bill received no hearings by the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

Bighorn Canyon. The Senate passed a bill providing for the establishment of the Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area in Montana Wyoming. The House took no action on the bill or on two companion measures.

Sleeping Bear Dunes. The Senate late in 1963, passed a bill to establish

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the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore along Michigan's Lake Michigan shoreline, but the House took no action on the measure in 1964.

Tocks Island. The Senate and House Interior and Insular Affairs Committees held hearings, but took no further action, on bills establishing a Tocks Island National Recreation Area in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Establishment of the Tocks Island area would have represented the first national recreation area set up through purchase of land, rather than on land already owned by the Bureau of Reclamation, and the first national recreation area east of the Mississippi River.

Water Project Recreation. An Administration-backed bill intended to provide a uniform federal policy for development of recreational facilities at federal water projects was reported to the House but received no further action.

AGRICULTURE

Sugar. With foreign sugar quotas expiring at the end of December, domestic beet sugar interests sought an increase in their own quotas — at the expense of foreign suppliers. Congress, however, was unable to reach agreement on an extension of alteration of the law. Members of the House Agriculture Committee could not agree on a bill. The Senate Sept. 30 tacked an amendment onto a routine tariff bill which extended the foreign quotas for six months and gave domestic sugar producers authority to market extra sugar in 1965 — a provision unacceptable to East Coast sugar refining interests. A request in the House for unanimous consent to send the bill to conference was blocked. The press for adjournment as well as earlier failure of the Agriculture Committee to write a bill resulted in House leaders making no further attempt to resolve the sugar issue. Both the tariff bill and the sugar rider died, allowing foreign quotas to expire. Experts said that other existing laws provided authority for regulating sugar imports until an agreement on extending foreign quotas could be worked out in 1965.

Potatoes. Administration bills providing acreage allotments and marketing quotas (but not price supports) on Irish potatoes for three years, through the 1968 marketing year, failed to receive floor action in either the Senate or House in 1964. The plan, which was designed to stabilize potato prices, would not have taken effect unless approved by voters in an annual referendum.

Montgomery County, a suburb of Washington, is one of the most prosperous counties in the country. It is one of those quiet, pleasant communities that people take their families to in order to get away from the horrors of city living. According to its police superintendent, crime there in 1964, when the figures are in, is expected to show a 50% jump from 1963.

Dairy. Congress failed to enact legislation, requested by both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, that would provide incentives to dairy farmers to reduce their surplus production and thereby reduce federal expenditures. The Senate in 1963 passed a bill designed to discourage overproduction by farmers who sell milk under federal milk marketing orders without imposing production controls, and the House held hearings on it. The Administration gave the measure only qualified endorsement and no further action was taken.

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POLITICS

By M. Aref

A political campaign is aptly named. It is the most warlike enterprise available, the only opportunity for a really good fight still allowed. In business, the emphasis now is on more genteel virtues — on getting along, on belonging, on preserving one's image and the image of one's corporation. The days of swashbuckling free enterprise are over. War itself is not much fun now. It's much too dangerous, and it is generally agreed that only losers will emerge from a really first-class war.

Politics, however, is livelier than ever. In Mencken's day, we're told that there was no finer spectator sport. Nothing could match the gallus-snapping orator in the courthouse square for pure comic appeal, no circus clown could rival the spectacle afforded by two candidates for the White House. But politics was for watching, not doing. Politicians were valued primarily for the entertainment they could provide. Henry Adams claimed that a congressman was a hog, and would respond only to the firm application of a stick to the snout. The learned Brothers Alsop pointed out that the only way for a self-respecting journalist — no one is more self-respecting than an Alsop in full cry — to look upon a politician was down. The voter was expected to produce only his vote. In return he received regular, if predictable, entertainment.

No more. The *nouvelle vague* is citizen participation. As war is now considered too important to be left to the generals, so too must the political professional make room for the amateurs.

Politics offers what more respectable pursuits cannot. It gives one a chance to experience the great emotions, to love and to hate, to be intensely involved in a cause one thinks greater than oneself, to have the luxury of seeing things in black and white, to care deeply about the outcome, and to know, on Election Night, exactly where one stands. On a less elevated level, politics makes respectable the application of the knife to an opponent's ribs — if not to his back — and it refines base selfishness into high ambition so respected by contemporaries and honored by historians. Sociology has taken the satisfaction out of business and technology has done the same to war, but politics, more than ever, is good fun. Today's young executive knows that he's in business for the buck, even if his father and grandfather thought that they were building America. Today's young officer is all too likely to be subsurface — underground or undersea—staring at a missile he knows he is meant never to fire. Today's young citizen-politician means to help save the world and have a good time while he's about it.

The parallels between warfare and campaign politics aren't superficial. Like a military campaign, a political campaign breeds an intense loyalty to the cause. *Nothing* is more important than victory, nothing takes precedence over it. Without victory in war, the enemy will work his will without restraint, or so we're taught. Without victory in politics, that archdemon, the opposition, will take over. There is no tomorrow. Good guys don't always win. Unlike business or law, where a compromise may satisfy both parties to a dispute, victory in politics takes priority over programs, ideals, the lot. It is the first premise. Me or thee.

As in war, information about the enemy is highly prized and hard to come by. Spying — "dirty business" to the civilian — is accepted as necessary and useful in both arenas. So is propaganda, whether as leaflets and broadcasts for enemy consumption or as voter education programs. In neither

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M. Aref describes himself as a citizen-politician.

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case is objectivity highly regarded. There is plenty of time for that after the surrender ceremonies or the concession speech.

Honor in war and in politics is a respected ideal, but ethical standards of political behavior are, like standards of behavior in battle, largely a matter of enlightened self-interest. If one spreads gas in enemy trenches, one risks the receipt of more of the same, and men for that reason have found it reasonable to forego the use of poison gas as an instrument of persuasion. So too in the contest for political power and place. Too much dirty linen washed in public is not good for anybody. Charge produces countercharge, and no politician likes to hear the "plague on both your houses" sentiment expressed in the recent presidential campaign by the Washington Cathedral's Dean Sayre. Public confidence is important, and so the mud-slinging and innuendo are kept within bounds. The Geneva Convention and the Fair Campaign Practices Committee serve similar purposes. They don't entirely prevent torture or character assassination, but they take away their respectability.

The citizen politician new to the game should not be surprised to see professors and graduate students underfoot. Political science departments, with the aid of the foundations, are justifying their names by studying the "science" of politics. The results are not always helpful or particularly enlightening. Although the graduate students usually stick around to do some of the dirty work, the professors often annoy the decision-makers and fund-raisers by their curiosity. The generals and admirals have their Doctor Strangeloves. So too with the humble pol, who may be faced with a Ph.D. who got a whiff of power and wants to run the place.

The physical aspects of a political campaign are suggestive of warfare as well. The headquarters are likely to be unkempt, an office or suite chosen to provide a fairly central location at the lowest possible cost. Efficiency of operation and staff morale are not factors in the choice. Inefficiency is part of the folklore of politics and war, and morale is supposed to take care of itself. The working hours are wholly unregulated, and the pay, if there is any — citizen politicians are volunteers, for the most part — is likely to be terrible. In warfare, communications are often poor, and lives are lost and battles fought in confusion because of it. The political worker is probably faced with a completely inadequate telephone system, with switchboards operated by amateurs, so that in a large headquarters, often the easiest way to communicate with a colleague is by foot.

The military and political practitioner have similar views of geography as well. A general will look at a map or a piece of terrain and see only what he needs to see; a road junction becomes a key control point, a pleasant wood is a possible enemy redoubt. A politician, looking at the map of his state, thinks not about cities and farms, woods, vacation lands and coal mines. He thinks about votes. An otherwise delightful area may be anathema as an opposition stronghold, a sordid industrial town cherished as a source of dependable friendly votes.

A political campaign eliminates domestic life, as does warfare, the main difference being that politics allows the preservation of an illusion of domesticity, while destroying its substance. The candidate and his wife can at least look forward to large rewards, but the volunteer who spends all of his (or her) time on the campaign for several months often has a hard time explaining matters at home. Paid permanent staff members working for major candidates have even more problems, for the campaign may have taken all their time for a year or more, and divorce and separation are frequent companions of victory.

In neither field does the major figure — general or candidate — exercise much day-to-day control over

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events. As the general must leave the execution of the battle to his colonels, so must a candidate depend upon his staff. The politician is more dependent than the general. A typical candidate will have little idea where he is going until just before he arrives; his physical movements are the responsibility of his schedulers and his aides. Nor can he remember where he has been the day before; memory revolts at the task of distinguishing a coffee hour or high school civics class or plant gate visit in Blueskies from one in Greenpastures. He has little time to read the papers and no time to think. A major statewide candidate usually must depend for policy advice upon his key assistants who remain in the headquarters, reasonably protected from the uproar. A typical case is one in which a speechwriter will produce something for the Top Man to say, will release it to the press and will *then* provide a copy for the candidate. It doesn't really matter what he does with it, for the reporters will write their stories from the press release anyway; that way they don't have to bother about listening to what the candidate has to say. (Only the naive will protest that the function of reporters is to listen to what candidates actually say.) The new citizen politician will complain that the Top Man is thus made almost a puppet. He is right, of course, but in today's politics, with coffee hours, civics classes, and plant gates day after day, that is in the nature of things.

The political professional takes life very seriously, and the beginner will be well advised not to laugh too loudly, however comical events may seem. What is an officeholder seeking another term to think when a John Bircher offers to do him violence because of the terrible wrong inflicted upon General Walker by the leftist pinkos who have taken over the Republic? Does he laugh? Surely the prospect of a Birchnut poking a Governor or a Senator is so outrageous that it's funny. Of course he doesn't laugh. The publicity — the black eye, the assailant shouting threats as he is carried away — is bound to make him an enemy here or there, lose a vote some conservative might otherwise tender him by mistake. (To be sure, Adlai Stevenson laughed off an assault by a placard-wielding lady patriot in Texas, but we all know how good a politician he is.)

With all the unpleasantness of a political campaign, why bother with it? The chances of glory are slim, the power one holds often seems not worthwhile, the life is hectic, and the work is hard. Why bother indeed?

Politics is interesting. Business and law are far too respectable to allow scope for the rough-and-tumble. Lawyers no longer aspire to play Clarence Darrow's part. They want to draft stock prospecti or arrange bond issues. But there is no sex appeal in a bond issue, and the faceless man is the professional ideal. Not so with politics. Especially for the amateur, politics is both a fascinating and a relatively secure avocation. Candidates come and go. Presidents run only every four years, Senators every six, Governors no more often than biennially, but political volunteers can always find work. Every campaign time, the same crowd reassembles. The top men may vary with the candidates, but the finance chairmen, the schedulers, the "advisers" are likely to be pretty much the same lot.

Their interests, of course, are not purely altruistic, for there is influence to be won and protected, possible contracts or legal business to be gained, favorable legislation to be helped along or unwanted bills blocked. The women are usually housewives, sometimes married to men who have received party favor — "nonpolitical" judgeships are a frequent example — but just as often women who have nothing directly to gain and who work because they like to.

Both the men and the women, whatever their other motivations may

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be, are in politics to win. Wives, husbands, children and jobs are ignored until Election Day. When faced again, the problems they pose, the tedious tomfooleries of the everyday, seem not very important. As with troops rotated from the front, the main thing is to rest and prepare for the next engagement.

RIGHT WING

A survey of right wing group propaganda published since the election reveals that none of the organizations consider Senator Goldwater's organizations consider Senator Goldwater's defeat any sort of repudiation for their cause.

"The course for all conservatives now, is to join the Minutemen's secret underground army for training as America's last line of defense against Communism," wrote Robert B. DePugh, chief Minuteman, in the group's monthly newsletter.

"Among the weak-kneed conservatives many will be shaking their heads and saying, 'we simply must win in 1968.' I hope the readers of this newspaper are not naive. We are not going to have a free election in 1968," DePugh wrote, adding that President Johnson's victory assures "that the time is past when the American people might have saved themselves by traditional political processes."

DePugh told his followers that "the Communists are winning by infiltration, subversion and psychological warfare. We must turn our enemies' own tactics against them."

Enclosed with the newsletter were membership application forms that members were urged to distribute to conservatives.

Recruits are asked whether they would be most effective as a "member of a combat team," in "intellegence or espionage work," or in "communications, weapons, medical . . . "

Since the Minutemen were organized four years ago, members have been arrested on charges of violating arms statutes, and a wide variety of arms have been confiscated.

The John Birch Society is less disheartened by Goldwater's defeat. In fact, it expect to boost its membership and budget in 1965.

"We mean business," Bircher National Chairman John Rousselot said in a recent press interview.

"We were solidly for Goldwater, but his defeat was no disaster for us," Rousselot said.

To prove his point, he cited the following:

The society is boosting its budget from $1.5 million last year to $2 million in 1965.

A new regional office will be opened in Washington under the direction of Reed Benson, son of Ezra Taft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture in the Eisenhower Administration.

An office in Chicago was opened recently, and the society hopes to open others in New York and Houston in coming months.

Meanwhile, the Rev. Billy James Hargis told readers of his Christian Crusade newsletter that Goldwater's defeat "points out the enormous task yet facing informed patriots — that is the job of awakening many more Americans to the truth about our steady national decline into disaster.

Hargis explained to his ultra-conservative followers that Goldwater lost the election mainly because he was maligned by the liberal press (especially by the columnists), and was betrayed by the liberal faction of the Republican party.

The Tulsa conservative asked his followers to regroup for the job ahead —writing letters to government officials and lawmakers, recruiting more members for the Crusade, and attending the group's various leadership schools.

The rightist newspaper, *Human Events*, analyzed the election results and found Goldwater's loss was in no sense a repudiation of conservatism.

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ADVERTISEMENTS

1. Commission-based Ads. Our policy is explained elsewhere in this issue. **Where only an Idler box number is listed, readers should include a five cent stamp so their inquiry may be quickly forwarded to the advertiser.**

2. Free Ads for Subscribers. May not be selling a service or product. Should be brief. The Idler reserves the right to edit all ads. Ads in this category will be dropped after one month unless request is renewed. The Idler assumes no responsibilities for transactions. Printed on space-available basis.

3. Paid Classified Advertising: Ten cents a word.

4. Other Paid Advertising: See elsewhere in this issue for rates.

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1st OF PRECEDING MONTH

ADULTS ONLY

A Love Affair with the Piano! Master Lessons, taught through correspondence, by artist teacher of over 30 years experience. Modest fee; free consultations at any time. IDLER Box N-1.

PAINTINGS

FRAME your bankbook? Hardly. Bronze busts of bank tellers? Never. Buy these paintings by a prize-winning artist and enjoy keeping an eye on your investment. Can be seen at The Idler office by appointment. Call 546-9662 or write Idler Box S-1.

WANTED: One used "Assimil" French course in at least relatively good condition. Write L. S., Apt. 2C, 7005 Shore Road, Brooklyn 9, N. Y.

FOR SALE: Blaine Hat. Worn in 1884 campaign. Inscribed "Young Men's Blaine Club," Cincinnati. $20 C.K.P. 1106 Cherokee Road, Louisville, Ky. 40204.

BACK-ISSUE INDEX

Each month, THE IDLER prints an index of articles from past issues that have continuing interest. While they last, these back issues may be ordered from THE IDLER, 125 5th St. NE, Washington 2, D. C. at 50c a copy. Please enclose the proper amount. We can not bill.

CENSUS — Rep. Arnold Olsen argues that we need a census more frequently than once every ten years. (Dec. '64)

CONGRESSIONAL REVIEW—Summary of major legislation passed by last Congress. (Nov. '64)

FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD — Rep. Wright Patman examines some of the deficiencies in the Federal Reserve system. (Dec. '64)

HURRICANES—Detailed report of what they are, how they are formed, and their effects (Sept. '64)

MULTILATERAL NUCLEAR FORCE — By John Silard. The Case Against the MLF. (Dec. '64)

PRAYER-READING DECISION OF SUPREME COURT—Detailed reply to critics by constitutional lawyer Leo Pfeffer (Sept. '64)

PUERTO RICO—Contains useful historical information and a look ahead. (Nov. '64)

TITANIC—New light on the role of the **Californian** in the **Titanic** disaster. (Oct. '64)

VOTING REGISTRATION—Why millions are disenfranchised by restrictive registration laws. (Oct. '64)

WHIP—Describes the functions of a Congressional whip. (Nov. '64)

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